4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family.

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon.

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

883 836 It might have been of the sort that existed in An-lung Hsien. There between the time of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 836 539

THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 535 533 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

[50a]

/72 cont./

881 The menstruating Meau girl is ashamed and tries to find out from her mother whether she is ill; she is also reticent about talking with other adults. The mother explains the facts of life to the girl, unless this has already been done by older playmates, as is usually the case. Boys naturally turn to their fathers with questions about sex.

[157] Girls as well as boys at the time of puberty become introspective, often seem absent-minded, and gradually withdraw more and more from the children's group, for which they have less and less time since they are put to work to an increasing extent. At the beginning of this period the adolescents avoid [572] the other sex; friendships between those of the same sex arise instead. The adolescents often develop an extravagant attachment to older persons of the same sex.

[774] This behavior, especially the apparent absent-mindedness, [756] disturbs the parents. Soon it is said that the soul has left the body [755] and that evil spirits prevent it from returning. One sends for the shaman, who begins his conjurations. /Ill. 18-21 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /73/ which make an extremely strong impression upon the adolescents.

887 Very soon, however, their attitude changes and strikes 836 out in the opposite direction. The pubescent Meau then seeks contacts with the other sex; they tend to stay away from members of their own sex, but especially from the younger children, and attach themselves to adults. It is not long before the girl, prompted by the older boys, begins an open flirtation, which usually leads to sexual surrender. The pubescent boys also seek sexual intercourse and approach the older, still unmarried girls, but never married women (see the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," in this chapter). They follow the older boys on their pursuit of girls and try to watch them and it is not long before they, too, are experienced in all phases of love-making (see the section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter).

883 The pubescent Meau begin to pay attention to cleanli- [515] ness and wash themselves several times a month. They think a great deal about their future. They picture their home.

[Text continues on P. 112]

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M /73 cont./

M 883 consider which partner they could marry, and, in short, no longer live only in the present. They are entirely satisfied with the way of life prescribed by the sib laws. There are M [578] never any disputes between the generations. On the contrary, the young people treat the older ones with veneration and respect, and it never occurs to them to criticize existing institutions.

M 869 Similarly, their attitude toward religious matters does not change. Since early childhood these matters have played 755 a major role in their lives (see the chapter, "Religion and 771 Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). They have re- [883] peatedly seen the shaman drive away evil spirits and believe that in doing so he has freed other children, and perhaps themselves, of these spirits and therefore of sicknesses (see the chapter, "Medicine"). Moreover, they have heard that in case of the death of a child, the shaman was weaker than the evil spirits. They do not doubt for a moment the existence of such spirits, whose activity and effect have been so strikingly and obviously demonstrated, for the death of a child always makes a lasting impression upon his playmates.

A /74/ Things are somewhat different among the Akha. 881 Probably as a result of premature sexual intercourse (see the [896] section, "Sexual Development," in this chapter), the actual beginning of puberty brings with it only slight psychological changes.

A The pubescent Akha give no thought to the past or the 881 future. They do not criticize, but rather are completely satis- 883 fied with the way the adults regulate life. Similarly there is no criticism among them concerning the traditions and even less about religious matters, which in general do not play A nearly as decisive a role as among the Meau. An exaggerated [776] fear of the spirits is as unknown to the adolescents as to the [781] adults. There is no period of passivity or of intense activity, no withdrawal or shame on the part of girls menstruating for the first time. The pubescent Akha for the most part have long been informed, and they therefore expect the advent of puberty with all the accompanying circumstances. There is no daydreaming or introspection among them. With the increase

/87 cont./

M 864 [825] told that the gibbons and monkeys, which animate the primeval forest in the neighborhood of the villages, put the babies in the laps of the women. Thus, among the Meau, the apes occupy the position of our stork. The explanation of the facts of life is given to the children of the Meau at the time of puberty at the latest.

A M 838 839 Onanism, homosexuality, and other sexual perversions are not found among either the Akha or the Meau. In most instances I did not even succeed in explaining these concepts to my informants, but when I did, they indignantly denied their occurrence, pointing out that the ancestors and spirits would prevent such perversions.

A M 836 626 [835] [831] Within the incest prohibitions, which apply not only to marriage, but also to free love (see the section, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations," in this chapter) and are strictly observed, since a violation, according to the belief of the natives, would be immediately punished by the ancestors and spirits, the choice of a partner is completely free for the young men, whereas public opinion, but not the young men themselves, demands chastity of the girl. In practice, however, the demands of public opinion only result in secrecy, by boys as well as girls, about everything that is connected with sexual life.

A M 836 [832] [833] In the case of younger boys, the older girls take the initiative by flirtation, at which they are masterfully adept. It often happens that a girl who teaches a young boy /88/ the arts of love-making later on becomes his chief wife, since she most likely will become pregnant. Older boys, on the other hand, often assume the training of the young girls. We frequently had an opportunity to observe an open flirtation. My wife wrote about one such observation in her journal: "May, the chief's daughter, is probably about sixteen years old and is a typical 'teen-ager' in behavior. She giggles at the least thing or bursts into loud peals of laughter over a remark shouted at her by one of the boys. It is loudest, however, when several girls are assembled. They chatter and laugh so loudly and unrestrainedly, even when we are working nearby, that we are

M 832 883 123

/88 cont./

M 832 883 123 seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together. Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

M [515] M [533]

A M 836 [548] [431] That purely materialistic considerations play only a minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M 114 548 836 In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

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/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A [832] Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both 883

1 [see cat 116, P 131- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", P 132- "]

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/151 cont./

A M 535 [885] [887] [532] the Akha and Meau. Old people of either sex do not dance under any circumstances, whether or not they are now widowed or unmarried. I have already discussed the participation of children at the dance entertainments in the sections, "Art in the Life of the Children" and "Sexual Development," in the chapter, "Life in the Community." Masks and masked dances are unfamiliar to both peoples.

A 123 535 609 Although the Akha are strictly endogamous, it is said, as my interpreter maintained, that on rare occasions they do not object to the participation of guests in their dances. I wanted to verify this statement, however, and suggested to my wife that she make an attempt to dance with the Akha women when the opportunity arose. On one of the following evenings my wife stepped into the circle of dancers. At first no one wanted to take her hand; a few even fled into the forest. Then my wife promptly seized by the hands two of the women taking flight, pulled them back to the dancing place, and soon all had lost their shyness before her, and even those who had fled returned. Two of the older girls then took my wife into the circle and taught her the dance steps. This visibly broke the ice. They found the khaki trousers and blouse of my wife abominable, but my wife had to confess that she had no festive garb. Nothing could be simpler! They gladly wanted to help her out with their clothing. Of course these garments of the Akha, among whom my wife looked like a giantess, did not fit at all. To be sure, /152/ nothing could be done, but the girls at least decked out my wife with ornaments and chains of beads made of dried fruits, and they were not satisfied until she was adorned with a great number of these chains, and then they all laughingly began to dance. All this had taken place without any ill-humor at all, and from this day on the Akha women, who before that had been very distrustful, lost all their shyness before us, which greatly facilitated our investigations.

A 123 535 [541] [177] To be sure, among the Akha, too, there may be a dance to honor someone, or the festively adorned dancers may invite him to accompany them to the dancing place, but even with all the good understanding we had not counted on belonging to this select group. One evening, however, it was about nine o'clock and we were already in our beds in the tent, when shots

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M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.
Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering
K = roof rider of wood
L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

M [353] the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [513]

M [231]

M ●883 [243] Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M [836] [533]

A 361 166 [241] [623] The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.